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INFORMATION REPORT

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Chile

PCCh Study of Reasons for Failure in Elections

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SUBJECT

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SUPPLEMENT TO REPORT NO.

- 1. The Political Commission of the Communist Party of Chile (PCCh) has been meeting with the Santiago regional directors and other Party officials to study the results of the elections and to evaluate the present position of the Party.
- 2. According to the studies which have been made, the reports which have been received from the provinces, and the observations made in Santiago and Valparaiso, the Communist Party electoral efforts failed for the following reasons:
 - a. Lack of labor union pressure;
 - b. Bribery exercised by political enemies;
 - Existing fear of government repression;
 - d. Opportunism and optimism within the PCCh which made the Party believe itself stronger than it really was.
- 3. Lack of labor union pressure was considered to have been a deciding factor in the poor showing made by the Communists in the elections, and is blamed on the disorganization and destruction of the CTCh by governmental repressive measures. In elections since 1935, and especially in 1938, the CTCh represented a large sector of the electoral vote. Its authority over the workers was virtually undisputed, so that any candidate opposed by it had to face its power throughout the entire country. This authority was exercised principally as moral pressure, but few union members dared to vote against the Confederation's candidates, and none had to accept the advice of his employers or of political chiefs. At present the directors of the labor unions no longer have the power of the old directors and the new directors have no experience. There are no directive boards to issue instructions on voting, and most employees at present would be reluctant to follow advice from such boards for fear the employer might consider that this indicated Communist sympathy. Lacking strong union direction, the laborer follows the political line of his employers, and even sells his vote openly as additional proof that the Communists do not control his vote.

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This document is hereby regraded to CONFIDENTIAL in accordance with the letter of 16 October 1978 from the letter of 16 October 1978 from the Director of Central Intelligence to the United States.

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- 4. The problem of combating the effect of bribery by political enemies is related to the labor problem. The Party member who had previously voted with the Communist Party, faced with a choice between a 500 peso bill and being denounced as a Communist, preferred the 500 pesos. There is evidence from persons outside the Communist Party, and even reports from Regional Committees, indicating that Communist militants as well as sympathizers were bribed in the southern provinces. In Santiago, especially in the Quinta Normal Commune, voters who belonged to the Party did not vote and evidence is available to indicate that they were bribed. This is reported to have occurred in Valdivia also.
- 5. Government repressive measures were said to have influenced voters in the laboring classes, particularly in the provincial towns. In Melipilla, for example, there was no one who dared work for Guillermo del Pedregal at the voting tables. Those who volunteered were eliminated from the registers and could not serve. It was therefore necessary to send people from Santiago to act for him. Even in Santiago where the terror of government reprisal was not as keen as in the provinces, not one teacher or government employee dared to go to the voting tables to handle the votes of the Frente Nacional Democratico candidate. All those who assisted were laborers or independent professional people. Communist leaders stated that they had noticed that the threat of exile or imprisonment meant less to the staunch militants than the threat of being fired from their jobs. Some former Communist voters had decided to leave the Party and the elections gave them a magnificent opportunity to obtain a type of "certificate" of anti-Communism.
- 6. Many of the members of the Party during its period of greater success were simply opportunists, who dropped away when it was no longer expedient to be a Communist openly.
- 7. The Political Commission also observed that some regional officials did not obey the instructions of the directive board of Santiago. In Coquimbo, where the Communist Party had been told to support the FRAS candidates, the militant Communists pretended to misunderstand and continued to support the Communists who were running.
- 8. Among the cells there has been severe criticism of the Political Commission for having been instrumental in furthering the candidacy of Guillermo del Pedregal in Santiago. Nost of the criticism emphasizes that the laborers and the Communists are tired of so-called traitors and do not wish to support politicians who have not followed the Party line. Some of the criticism coming from the lower echelons is directed toward instigating some changes in the directives and the political line of the Party.
- 9. Changes will be made in the Political Commission at the proposal of the Secretariat of the Central Committee. The Secretariat is at present composed of Ricardo Fonseca. Luis Reinoso and Luis Valenzuela Valenzuela, in addition to Elias Lafertte, President of the Party, and Galo Gonzalez. The Secretariat will call a full meeting of the Central Committee to change the Political Commission while the General Congress of the PCCh is in session. The Congress is expected to take place when Victor Contreras Tapia returns to Chile.
- 10. Among those expected to be most affected by this decision to change the directive body are Carlos Contreras Labarca, Humberto Abarca Cabrera, Cesar Godoy Urrutia, and Julieta Campusano. For the moment, no definite decision has been made, but it is believed that a definite position will be taken at the general meeting.

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Galo Gonzalez has stated that "over-optimism lost many leaders", and that the present leaders may be required to yield their positions to men who can do the work efficiently.

- 11. It has also been decided that the Party political line must be changed to give it wider appeal. The voting revealed that the non-partisan masses were not aroused to enthusiasm by the issues stressed in the Communist electoral campaign. The press edited by the Party also failed to gain wide support. Only El Pueblo had some circulation, but it was not sold out in the newstands as Party leaders had expected, basing their hopes on the fact that any newspaper or magazine which attacks the government usually has a large circulation. The daily La Oposicion had to be suspended because it was not well received by Communists and did not pay its way.
- 12. The new Party line which is being studied is expected to concern itself with the following aims:
 - Advocating international labor solidarity to prevent war potentials from being developed against the USSR_o
 - b. Gaining acceptance for the claim that the policies of the USSR represent peace.
 - c. Securing direct declaration that the Communists will not fight against the USSR.
 - d. Attempting to convince the masses that the newly elected Congress has no moral validity, and that it is a product of fraud. This accusation of fraud will be accompanied by a campaign in favor of convening a Constituent Assembly for a new Political Constitution.
- 13. These points will constitute the basis for a manifesto which will be presented by the PCCh to the press, and which will be printed in flyers for distribution in the streets and for posting on walls. This political renovation will be accompanied by a reorganization in the cuadros and their manner of functioning. The report on organization will be presented by Luis Reinoso.

